2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Cooper felt that compensation was due them. It may be stated however that the money paid was looked upon as in the nature of a gift, and the generosity displayed in the form of counter-gifts, both to Dr. Cooper and to me, was truly touching.

I was invited to the Fort Belknap Reservation in 1940 to work exclusively with the women and to deal mainly with matters other than religion. The two oldest women at Hays, Coming Daylight and Singer, accepted me as their "granddaughter" which was fortunate in view of the freedom allowed between grandparents and grandchildren in Gros Ventre society. Although these two old women did not speak English, I was happy in having as interpreters women who were well liked by them and who were themselves interested in "the old ways of doing things." Thus they proved valuable informants on their own account. Mary Ereaux and the late Cora Chandler were two who served admirably in both capacities in 1940; Mathilda Cuts The Rope and Mae Main aided me most ably in 1945 and 1948. Garter Snake, a valuable informant, was the only woman for whom a man, Charles Buckman, interpreted.

While on the Reservation, I enjoyed the hospitality of the School Sisters of Saint Francis at their convent. I went out, however, before nine and returned at five or six, spending each day visiting the women in their homes. There we smoked and chatted and worked in an atmosphere of easy informality. Much of the material given by the women might be classified under the heading of "expressive interviews." The older women were interested in the fact that I could take down so quickly in shorthand what the interpreter said, but occasionally checked on my accuracy, and the interpreter's as well, by asking me to read back for translation to them something they had said hours or days before!

In 1945 and 1948 when I worked with the men, who had previously cooperated with Dr. Cooper, the situation was naturally somewhat more formal than that which obtained with the women. We met in the Community Hall at Hays. As our business-like sessions proceeded, various Gros Ventre men dropped in and sat on the sidelines. Many of these, including some who were not regular informants or interpreters, such as Tom Bad Road, Steve Bradly, Rufus Warrior and others, helped by freely joining in

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

explained: "Mrs. Curly Head was the best-dressed woman I knew. Her husband's sister kept her well-dressed. A woman has a lot of pride in the appearance of her brother's wife, and the old women tell us that it was the same in the old days." Cora corroborated this by stating: "My sister and I would load my brother's wife with presents. And if he had more than one wife, it would be the same,—a woman is good to her brother's wife no matter how many times he might be married." Coming Daylight mentioned that she made it a point to bring her cousin's wife—she had no blood brother—especially nice gifts whenever she made a trip and added that in former times, just as today, when a woman distributed berries she had picked, the first one she would think of would be either her brother's wife or her son's wife.

About all that a woman did for her husband's sister was to make her occasional gifts of moccasins. The giving of moccasins, however, had a significance far beyond what their extrinsic value suggests. Mary illustrated this by the following incident: "Flat Head is my cousin. He has three half-brothers, all of them having the same father but different mothers. I treat these three in the same way I treat Flat Head, namely, as a brother. One of these men died last spring, and his wife, who is of course my sister-in-law, came and brought me a pair of moccasins. So when she was leaving I gave her a woolen shawl which I had just bought, and a dress which I had made and intended to display in the bazaar. My husband's niece, who is young and doesn't understand the old ways, said reproachfully to me: 'Why, Aunt Mary, you gave up that nice shawl you wanted so badly.' So I told her: 'Surely—I couldn't let my sister-in-law go out of here without giving her something! You should know that when anyone gives you a pair of moccasins it is a big thing. It is as much as anything I can think of—as much as a bottle of whiskey or of brandy!'"

Grandparents

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren was a free-and-easy one, unmarked by the reticence which characterized the parent-child relationship, or by the feeling of restraint which obtains between so many relatives of opposite sex. "A grandfather can say anything he likes to his granddaughter, and vice

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

603 versa. Grandparents, for instance, can tell folk-tales and stories, the subject-matter and details of which no parents would mention in the hearing of their children." A woman would think nothing of teasing her grandmother about men. The following is typical of the milder sort of joking which is customary, but which would be considered highly improper toward parents. "Coming Daylight's granddaughter came into her house to borrow a knife. The old woman told her: 'Don't lose that knife. I have had it for a long time and I love that knife.' Whereupon the granddaughter replied: 'Yes, you love that knife just like you love your sweethearts!' and the several women present had a good laugh over this joke." Again, Coming Daylight herself told of an old man who was grandfather to her maternal uncle and thus also her "grandfather." She said: "One day when I was still a young woman, this old man asked me why I didn't come to him to obtain
[831] medicine power from him. I replied: 'Oh, I wouldn't come to you because I know that you are one of those medicine men who includes sexual intercourse as payment, and if I came to you, you would try to have me too!' Of course I could never have said that to anyone in my parents' generation."

Grandparents are said to have been indulgent toward their
[868] grandchildren. They might occasionally give advice, and indeed it was expected that a grandmother would train her granddaughter not only in skills and techniques, but also prepare her for what to expect on the physical side of marriage, warn her not to arouse her husband's jealousy, etc. When in trouble, however, a grandchild could discuss any matter with his grandparents. They would give counsel, but never scold. A man would usually not count on material aid from his grandparents, but, on the other hand, he was not expected to contribute to their support to any greater degree
[431] than he would to that of any old persons were they in need—namely, by giving an occasional present of food or clothing.

Siblings of the Same Sex

593 The relationship between brothers on the one hand and between sisters on the other was a more or less casual one. Family loyalty and ordinary generosity were expected, but formality was lacking. "A girl and her sisters could, of course, laugh and joke and tease

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

their feelings to themselves, for any show of such feelings would be contrary to the deep veneration due to the Pipe and its official personnel. They had to be resigned to have that particular sibling as the Pipe Child. When the keeper gave up his keepership, some of his children might go back to their father's lodge but not necessarily all of them. Some had gotten used to living elsewhere and just remained there.

The Boy's own experience may further illustrate the foregoing situation.

He was born while his father, Lame Bull, was keeper of the Flat Pipe, and consequently he was born not in his father's lodge but in that of one of his grandmothers. His mother went back to his father's lodge, but she used to come to his grandmother's lodge to nurse and look after him. In his earliest years he had four or five "grandmothers" or great-grandmothers [real and classificatory] living, one of them his mother's mother. He stayed most of the time with his maternal grandmother and with her mother. It was from these grandmothers that he got most of the affectionate attention he craved and most of his early training and instruction. Every night, too, one or other of the grandmothers would tell old-time stories and Ni:hə̀hat tales. After a while he was permitted to go to his father's lodge but only for a little while at a time, but he was not allowed to live or sleep there. He never addressed his parents as "father" or "mother," but only by their given names, although there was no taboo in the matter, and his younger brother Andrew Lame Bull used the former manner of address. The Boy as a child did not feel much inclined to "play baby" and sit alongside his father and mother, as other Gros Ventre children did, to get special attention, but he did act so elsewhere, around his grandmothers and great-grandmothers. He did not go to live in his father's lodge until he was about nine (or eleven?) years old, after his father had ceased being Pipe keeper, and by this time he was able to take pretty good care of himself, to ride horseback, and so forth.

All of The Boy's eight brothers and sisters—he was the ninth—who survived infancy were reared outside their father's lodge, except the one who was Pipe child. After Lame Bull's keepership

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The old man, however, might and commonly would appeal to another old man, who knew the Dance rites well even though he might never have vowed the dance, to double for him in seeing that the rite was properly carried out.

A keeper of one of the sacred Pipes, or at least of the Flat or Feathered Pipe, could not, during his term of office, function as "grandfather" at a sacred Lodge, but an ex-keeper could.

The relationship between ceremonial grandfather or grandmother and grandchild was a sacred one. Between such grandparent and grandchild a certain respect behavior had to be observed, and either was obligated not to refuse a request of the other.

Gambling, for instance, between them, or apparently even playing on opposite sides in a non-gambling hand game, was improper. Between blood grandparents and grandchildren a distinct joking relationship obtained,* not however between ritual grandparents and grandchildren, although our field evidence is not entirely consistent. According to one good informant, between these latter, telling vulgar jokes and stories, teasing about lovers, and so forth, were taboo; according to another, a little freedom in such matters was allowed, but not as much as was allowed and practiced between blood grandparents and grandchildren.

As regards, however, the much more significant mutual obligation of ceremonial grandparents not to refuse requests of grandchildren, our field data are entirely consistent and clear. This mutual obligation was rigidly lived up to and played a very important role in Gros Ventre social life. This role may best be illustrated by the following actual case.

Once Iron Woman, Crow Bull's wife, ran away with Kitfox. When people noticed she was gone, they said: "Oh, she must have run away again with somebody." Before she ran away this time, Crow Bull had said: "If she runs away again, there will be trouble." So people went to Black Raven, Kitfox's father, to tell him that his son was suspected and that there would probably be trouble. When Iron Woman and Kitfox came back, Crow Bull seized his loaded gun and dashed out as if he were going to kill

* See Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Her final rejoinder was such a witty and pointed one that everyone laughed heartily at her rival's expense. In this culture, of course, public ridicule was a far more effective retaliation than the biting and scratching that other women said frankly they would have indulged in when attacked.

Expression of emotional excess was institutionalized for the Gros Ventres, as for the rest of the Plains, in the bereavement situation. Upon the death of a husband, son, or father, a woman was expected to start wailing as soon as she heard the news, have her hair cut off, discard good clothes for old ragged ones, gash her arms and legs, go to the hills to mourn and cry, resisting for a time the pleas of her relatives to return, and being watched lest she attempt suicide. Coming Daylight was only a young woman when she was first widowed and the mourning pattern was still in full vogue. It is certain from other evidence than Coming Dayling had a deep affection for this husband to whom she had been given as a child-bride and in whose kindly and indulgent treatment she had found a pleasant escape from the rigorous discipline of her grandmother. Nevertheless the public expression of her grief was minimal—no abandonment for her. Although her sister was sent on the hills with her to keep watch over her in the usual way, Coming Daylight was easily persuaded to return shortly though she herself was proud of the fact that she had stayed out so long that she actually had got a frozen toe! In later years when all that was left of the ritual was the wailing out on the hills, she lost the son whom she herself, and everybody else, acknowledged as her favorite. She had not been on the hills very long when she experienced a significant dream, as follows. She was in a lodge at the rear of which was a big pile of tobacco mixture and a pipe. The owner of the lodge filled the pipe and approached her. She was frightened because she didn't smoke. The owner of the lodge however told her: "Look at these people." She looked and saw many with their hair cut and their bodies bleeding from the gashes inflicted in grief. The man then told her: "That is in the past. Nowadays your only consolation is in smoking." So she accepted the pipe and, after smoking it, she was painted in ceremonial fashion by each of those other mourners. Then the owner of the lodge dismissed her saying: "Now, go home and don't ever go on the hills and mourn again. But always smoke if you want to." She went home right after this dream and when she told her husband of it he accepted it as valid and persuaded her sister to prepare for Coming Daylight her first real smoke. She maintained that the habit subsequently developed was actually a great comfort to her.

The final area with which we shall be concerned here is the war complex—a vital aspect of the old Plains culture. Gros Ventre women were allowed direct but limited participation in these activities in the sense that, while they would not join a party of men who were going on horse-raiding or revenge expeditions, if opportunity offered they might exhibit the same kind of bravery that a man should show and derive considerable status therefrom. For instance, if one of the enemy fell nearby, the women rushed out from camp to count coup, and to grab trophies with which to inaugurate the relationship known as "enemy-friends." Coming Daylight, however, was never one to indulge in this sport. She told of the one—and to her extremely distasteful—occasion on which her hand literally was forced. It seems that during a raid on their camp one of the enemy was shot and her husband scalped him. The victim was lying not far from her lodge and, as her husband dashed off to pursue the rest of the Assiniboine, he shouted for her to come out and see what was going on. Coming Daylight saw the man lying there, face down, covered with blood. He was not dead